

## LOCAL TRADE NETWORKS IN MALUKU IN THE 16TH, 17TH, AND 18TH CENTURIES

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From an outsider's viewpoint, the diversity of language and ethnic groups scattered through numerous small and often inaccessible islands in Maluku might appear to be a major deterrent to economic contact between communities. But it was precisely because these groups lived on small islands or in forested larger islands with limited arable land that trade with their neighbors was an economic necessity. Distrust of strangers was often overcome through marriage or trade partnerships. However, the most effective justification for cooperation among groups in Maluku was adherence to common origin myths which established familial links with societies as far west as Butung and as far east as the Papuan islands.<sup>1</sup>

The records of the Dutch East India Company housed in the State Archives in The Hague offer a useful glimpse of the operation of local trading networks in Maluku. Although concerned principally with their own economic activities in the area, the Dutch found it necessary to understand something of the nature of indigenous exchange relationships. The information, however, never formed the basis for a single systematic report, but is scattered in various documents in the form of observations or personal experiences of Dutch officials. From these pieces of information it is possible to reconstruct some of the complexity of the exchange in Maluku in these three centuries and to observe the dynamism of local groups in adapting to new economic developments in the area.

In addition to the Malukans, there were two foreign groups who were essential to the successful integration of the local trade networks: the Bugis and the Chinese. Some knowledge of the role they played is necessary to understand the functioning of the economy of the area. Unlike the Europeans, the Bugis and the Chinese visited and actively traded in the

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1. See my forthcoming book, *The World of Maluku: A History of Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press).

isolated ports scattered throughout Maluku. They successfully established themselves both as intermediaries serving the more localized exchange networks, as well as direct traders with the producers or collectors in certain areas normally shunned by other groups.

The products selected for discussion—cloves, slaves, cloth, and iron—were the principal items of exchange during this period. They served to galvanize local groups to trade more specialized goods within a specific economic network in order to obtain these desired products. Synthesis of the material over these centuries provides a dynamic picture of one economic zone constantly readjusting to changing situations despite efforts by the Europeans to control and redirect trade.

### THE "BUGIS"

In the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, the Makassar people from the twin kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo in South Sulawesi had become one of the most powerful political and economic forces in the archipelago. Benefiting from the experience and the economic links brought by refugees from Johor, Pahang, Lingga, Gresik, Bukit (near Surabaya), Jaratan, Sidayu and Banda, the Makassar people became a major trading power throughout the archipelago. Among the most useful of the refugees were the Bandanese, some 1000 of whom had been given refuge by the Sultan Makassar in 1624 after they had been brutally evicted from their islands by the Dutch.<sup>2</sup> They had been the principal traders in spices in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, going with their ships to various parts of the east to purchase clove, nutmeg, and mace, and then bringing the spices directly to Melaka.<sup>3</sup> Their contacts and knowledge of the trade enabled Makassar to develop into a major spice market in the east.

To obtain cloves, Makassar boats usually followed a route which went north of Halmahera and down the east coast to Maba. From here they were conducted by Tidore kora-koras around the southern end of Halmahera, up through the Patinti Straits, and finally northward to Tidore. In their search

2. P. A. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel* ('s-Gravenhage, 1886), vol. 2, p. xvii.

3. "Descrição sumaria das Molucas e da Banda," Dec. 1529, in A. B. de Sá, *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente*. Insulindia. 1955, vol. 4, (Lisboa, 1956), p. 17; Armando Cortesão, ed. and trans., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London, 1944), vol. 2, p. 265.

for spices the Makassar boats also frequented Weda, Obi, Akelamo, Makian, Mayu, various places in northeast Halmahera, and the Sula islands. The Malukans preferred to bring their spices to any of a number of these places to sell to the Makassar traders, who offered better prices than the Europeans.<sup>4</sup> At Luhu on the Hoamoal peninsula in Seram the Ternatens refused to bring their cloves to the Dutch, and instead transported them over the mountains to Lesidi and Erang where they were sold to the Makassar people for rice and slaves.<sup>5</sup>

After the defeat of the kingdoms of Gowa-Tallo by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1669, Makassar remained an important center of trade, but was now dominated by Bugis traders. The Bugis from Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo were particularly prominent in Makassar and established links with their compatriots who had fled abroad or migrated after the Makassar War of 1666-1669. Many of these South Sulawesi refugees had been led by their own princes, and the latter came to marry into the royal families in Java, Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, Sumbawa, and Borneo. In time, the old enmities at home were forgotten abroad as the similarity of culture and language often overrode political differences, especially in conflicts with other groups. Outside Sulawesi the distinction between Bugis, Makassar and Mandar groups was ignored by others, so that anyone from South Sulawesi was termed a "Bugis." The scattered settlements of "Bugis" throughout the archipelago became the nodes of a trade network with an eastern terminus at Makassar and a western one at Johor-Riau.<sup>6</sup>

In the eighteenth century, Bugis activity increased markedly. From their main bases in Johor-Riau in the west and Makassar in the east, they followed two routes to the eastern islands. They went either via the northern route to Palu and overland to Parigi on the Gulf of Tomini; or via the eastern route through the Gulf of Bone or overland to Tobunku in southeast Sulawesi. With Indian cloth purchased from the Company and Makassar cloth, they went with their boats to Butung, Tobunku, Banggai, Sula, Seram

4. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 2, pp. 260-261.

5. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 2, p. 15.

6. For a discussion of the circumstances which led to the exodus of "Bugis" from South Sulawesi and their fortunes in various lands in the archipelago, see L. Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975); and L. Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka* (The Hague, 1981).

Laut, and as far east as Onin on the New Guinea coast.<sup>7</sup> At Keffing and other ports in East Seram, they were able to exchange their cloth for spices and slaves, which they then brought to Banggai to be sold.<sup>8</sup> So successful were the Bugis traders that in 1766 the Sultan Ternate stated indignantly that the Ternaten lands of Sula and Banggai were "full of Bugis."<sup>9</sup> They were the chief traders of spices, going with their light boats, known as *padewakang*, from Sulawesi to East Seram and the Papuas, where they obtained spices and brought them to Pasir, Sulu, and even Manila, where they fetched much higher prices than elsewhere.<sup>10</sup>

The Bugis were equally prominent in the trade via the northern route to the Gulf of Tomini. At Gorontalo and Limbotto they exchanged Indian cloth for tortoise shells, which the locals secretly brought one or two at a time during the night.<sup>11</sup> Slaves were another of the items which the Bugis acquired in the Tomini Gulf. On the return trip they went to Parigi, overland to Palu, and then to Berau, a new center which developed in the eighteenth century ideally located in northeast Borneo between the Bugis trade centered in Sulawesi and the rising entrepôt of Sulu. Berau arose as an entrepôt to service the needs of Sulu as well as the Bugis, and its highly varied population reflected its success. In the mid-eighteenth century, Berau had traders from Java, Magindanao, Sulu, South Sulawesi, Kaili, Bantam, and other areas. The products from the east assembled at the port were destined for Java, Batavia, and other areas to the west, and included such items as gold dust, birds nest, rattan, tortoiseshell, wax, lapis bezoar, and monkey bezoar stones.<sup>12</sup> Many Bugis traders preferred to bring their goods to Berau and to Pasir on the eastern coast of Borneo, rather than risk confiscation by the Dutch at Makassar.

7. VOC 3150, Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1765, fols. 55-56, 75-77. (From the Dutch East India Company archives of the General State Archives in The Hague.)

8. VOC 1675, Secret Missive Ternate to Batavia, 20 Sept. 1703, fol. 174.

9. VOC 3186, Secret Missive Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1766, fol. 29.

10. VOC 3628, Secret Missive Ternate to Batavia, 28 Sept. 1782, fol. 71.

11. VOC 1690, Ternate to Batavia, 17 June 1704, fol. 37.

12. VOC 2606, Ternate to Batavia, 13 Sept. 1743, fols. 42-45.

The success of Bugis traders by the latter half of the eighteenth century was primarily due to their ability to integrate themselves effectively with the new forces in the area: the English and Sulu. Spices, slaves, tortoiseshell, and trepang could now be brought to Sulu or to the English country traders, who were appearing in the archipelago in increasing numbers. The English were able to take cloves to Canton, principally as a result of the reliable supply which they were receiving from the Bugis. They also brought cloth to Pasir, where the Bugis bought it in exchange for spices. Some of the cloth was taken by the Bugis to the Papuan areas and to other areas of Maluku to purchase spices, while the rest went through Palu, overland to Parigi, then to the Gulf of Tomini to purchase tortoiseshell at prices higher than those offered by the Dutch.<sup>13</sup> In addition to cloth, the English and later the French also used guns as an item of exchange for products from eastern Indonesia. The English found Gebe to be an ideal location for this trade since it was located conveniently on the so-called "Pitt's route" which went through the Papuan islands to China.<sup>14</sup> In the late eighteenth century those from Gebe and Patani were using the guns obtained from the English and French to obtain cloth throughout the region. A rebellion had resulted in a large number of deaths, and the people were desperate for cloth to provide decent burials for the dead.<sup>15</sup> Although the Europeans played a key part in these exchanges, it was the Bugis who were indispensable in providing the markets for the trading of these goods.

## THE CHINESE

The Chinese were another group which contributed substantially to trade in Maluku. Since the early centuries of the Christian era, Chinese traders had come to Southeast Asia, purchasing the rare Southeast Asian sea and forest products with silk, porcelain, and other Chinese wares. After the spectacular Ming voyages of the fifteenth century, Chinese overseas trade was banned until 1567, although individual merchants from the southeastern provinces continued to send trade ships to Southeast Asia. The period beginning with 1567 witnessed a burgeoning of trade between these

13. VOC 3209, Butung to Batavia, 15 August 1767, fol. 7; VOC 3331, Ternate to Batavia, 12 August 1771, fol. 17.

14. VOC 3186, Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1766, fol. 7.

15. VOC 3357, Diary of Hemmekans in the Papuan islands from a report dated 15 Oct. 1771, appendix 19, n.p.

two areas which was accompanied by the arrival of Chinese immigrants ready to settle in the region. Except for a brief period between 1717 and 1727, the new Qing dynasty, which came to power in China in 1644, encouraged this trade to keep the otherwise hostile southern provinces loyal. Between 1600 and 1830, about 1000 junks of 20,000 tons sailed annually from China to various parts of the world. They brought Chinese migrants to Southeast Asia, most of whom settled in Batavia, Manila, and Ayudhya/Bangkok, where they filled a variety of roles, not only as merchants, but also as farmers, retailers, and skilled artisans. As Company subjects, these Chinese were allowed to sail to the various areas in the archipelago with Company passes. The Chinese, like many other traders, were quick to recognize the economic potential of the eastern islands, with their spices, slaves, and now trepang (sea cucumber), which had become a great delicacy in China.<sup>16</sup>

Already by 1710 the Dutch were complaining of increasing Chinese trade in the area, which was hurting the Company's trade but obviously benefiting the rulers of Ternate and Tidore.<sup>17</sup> Although the Sultan Ternate was loathe to antagonize the powerful Company, he was even more mindful of the economic benefits which the Chinese brought. He therefore quickly extended his protection over the thirty or so Chinese living in the royal settlement in order to place them out of reach of the Dutch.<sup>18</sup> The Sultan Tidore too protested at the Company's decision to bar Chinese trade on the New Guinea coast since he realized that the Chinese were crucial in the ongoing profitability of this trade.<sup>19</sup> The Dutch sought to restrict Chinese presence in the east because of what they regarded as the "damaging relationship" being established between the Chinese and the Malukan

16. Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), p. 99. For a general discussion of Chinese participation in Southeast Asian economic and social life between the late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, see L. Y. Andaya, "Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800," in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, ed. N. Tarling (Cambridge, 1992).

17. VOC 1794, Ternate to Batavia, 25 Sept. 1710, fol. 352.

18. VOC 1794, Ternate to Batavia, 11 Sept. 1710, fols. 283-284.

19. VOC 1637, Letter from Sultan Tidore to Batavia, 21 July 1700, fol. 80.

rulers.<sup>20</sup> What the Dutch in fact feared was the Malukan rulers using the Chinese trade network to sell spices, slaves, and other goods in complete defiance of Company restrictions.

The Chinese had established a growing niche in the eastern trade network, exchanging iron and porcelain at Ternate and Tidore for Malukan products. The Chinese were also prominent in the tortoiseshell trade. They obtained it from the Tomini Gulf or from Gorontalo-Limboto, brought it to the lightly populated Bacan or uninhabited Obi islands, where it was transferred to other Chinese junks originating from Ambon, Banda, and Ternate.<sup>21</sup> To avoid Dutch restrictions, Chinese were going to Bacan, becoming Muslim, and living under the sultan's protection. Bacan and the Obi islands continued to be an ideal spot for trading away from the eyes of the Dutch, and they were ideally placed in the center of the trade moving east and west.<sup>22</sup> The Chinese were among the most prominent in the trade to Numfor and other areas on the coast of New Guinea, where they were obtaining slaves, massoi, and tortoiseshell in exchange for cloth, coral, knives, and swords.<sup>23</sup>

Among the most effective traders were the Chinese *peranakan* whose mixed background offered them a special entrée into both Chinese and indigenous society. Traders from ancient times had always seen the advantage of marrying local women as a means of establishing a safe base and trust with the local population, which enhanced trading activities. These local wives of foreign merchants often proved to be crucial in the purchasing of the required goods.<sup>24</sup> For example, Chinese merchants in Menado had

20. VOC 1794, Ternate to Batavia, 25 Sept. 1710, fol. 352.

21. VOC 1690, Ternate to Batavia, 17 June 1704, fols. 37, 66; VOC 1675, Report from Hofman in Gamrange, 25 Aug. 1703, fol. 218.

22. VOC 3470, Secret missive Ternate to Batavia, 20 Aug. 1776, fols. 196-198.

23. VOC 2465, Report by Aardewyn on mission to Salawati, 30 April 1738, fol. 489.

24. Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. 2 (London, 1930), p. 28; Jesús Merino, O. P. "The Chinese Mestizo: General Considerations," in *The Chinese in the Philippines*, vol. 2, ed. Alfonso Felix Jr. (Manila, 1968), pp. 64-66.

several wives among interior groups in order to assure the maintenance of the rice trade.<sup>25</sup>

The Company finally issued a decree in 1712 forbidding any Chinese navigation east of Makassar. Any Chinese found in the east who was not a resident in the area was immediately deported to Batavia.<sup>26</sup> The Company directors recommended that the Chinese be encouraged to engage in other economic activities, such as indigo-processing as they did in Ambon, in order to divert them from participating in archipelago trade. Although in 1729 the Dutch drew attention to the fact that the Chinese and others were still exporting spices from Maluku and selling them at Banjarmasin,<sup>27</sup> the measures were having some effect. By 1731, Ternate's Chinese community had dwindled to twenty-three, and they had turned to shopkeeping and small trade for their livelihood.<sup>28</sup> The restriction of Chinese navigation in the east forced some of the Chinese to seek other avenues to pursue their trade. Some converted to Islam and became subjects of local Muslim rulers, while others continued to receive goods secretly from native traders because of the higher prices they offered.<sup>29</sup>

In time, however, the Chinese learned to evade the restrictions with the complicity of the Malukan rulers. The Dutch began to be alarmed at the increasing numbers of Chinese traders seen trading with the coastal villages of Tidore, and ordered that they be stopped. In his defense the Tidore ruler argued that such trade should continue to replace revenue lost because of Dutch measures which discouraged foreign traders from coming to the island. In Ternate, Chinese traders from Ambon, Banda, and Makassar came armed with Company passes to sell cloth to the inhabitants at better prices than the Company paid.<sup>30</sup> As the Dutch became less able to police the

25. VOC 3622, Ternate to Batavia, 28 Sept. 1782, fol. 245.

26. VOC 1882, Ternate to Batavia, 30 June 1716, fols. 29-30.

27. VOC 2191, Ternate to Batavia, 9 June 1731, fol. 1358.

28. VOC 2191, *Memorie van Overgave*, Pielat, 7 June 1731, fol. 1104; VOC 2191, Ternate to Batavia, 9 June 1731, fols. 22, 24.

29. VOC 1840, Ternate to Batavia, 13 Sept. 1713, fol. 210; VOC 2012, Ternate to Batavia, 13 Sept. 1724, fol. 456.

30. VOC 2907, Ternate to Batavia, 31 Aug. 1757, fols. 251-252.

vast areas of eastern Indonesia, Malukan rulers flouted Company directives and openly courted the Chinese and other foreign traders.

Toward the last quarter of the eighteenth century, there was a marked increase in Chinese trading activity as a result of the rise of Sulu as an important terminus in the English China trade. Sulu was visited annually by from one to three richly laden Chinese junks, which sold their goods for pearls, tortoiseshell, trepang, and wax.<sup>31</sup> The existence of this new entrepôt outside Dutch control encouraged Chinese traders to supply these Chinese junks with what they sought and provided a further impetus to Chinese activity in the eastern islands.

### CLOVES

The products which served as a stimulus to both Bugis and Chinese traders in Maluku were cloves and slaves, with the former by far the most important. The demand for cloves was a result of the greater properties attributed to that humble spice and medicine. One of the earliest references to its use is from the first century B.C., during the early Han dynasty, where Chinese officials were required to hold cloves in their mouths while addressing the emperor.<sup>32</sup> The aromatic properties of the clove were the reason behind a similar practice among Indian and Portuguese mestizo women in India and Southeast Asia. In Maluku itself, the clove had a variety of uses. When the fruit was green, it was sugared and made into conserves or salted and pickled in vinegar. In powdered form it was used for medicinal purposes. But it was in Europe that some extravagant claims were made of this "miracle drug." The sweet-smelling essence distilled from the clove was said to strengthen one's vision if applied to the eye. The clove powder was rubbed on the forehead to relieve headcolds, while cloves were said to stimulate the appetite and assist in the clearing of the bladder and the intestines. When drunk with milk it was reputed to enhance the pleasures of coitus. According to the Dutch there were other uses of the clove, "too many to recount."<sup>33</sup>

31. VOC 3418, Resolution from Ternate, dated 12 July 1773, fol. 176.

32. T. H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. 1 (London, 1935), p. 961.

33. I. Commelin, *Begin ende voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. 1, *First voyage*, Neck (Amsterdam, 1646), p. 30.

Until the arrival of the Europeans, local Malukan arrangements for the delivery of cloves were simple but satisfactory. Each village had its own areas of clove trees, and each household regarded particular trees as its own. Individuals would thus harvest and prepare their own cloves and bring them down to the waiting ships to be exchanged for foreign goods. As demand grew for greater and more reliable supplies of cloves prepared in a particular way, the individual ad hoc approach to the trade was abandoned. The royal settlement became the focus of the clove trade because of the foreign tendency to seek arrangements with the ruler. Outlying communities therefore had to establish links with the center in order to sell their cloves and to obtain a share of foreign goods.

A significant development in Maluku's trade came with the Portuguese efforts to control the sale of cloves. They sought to assure a uniform system by requiring that all measuring devices for cloves be destroyed and only two maintained: one to be kept at the Portuguese settlement, and the other at the home of the Ternaten queen, who was then the person with the greatest authority in Ternate. Under the Captaincy of Gonalo Pereira (1530–1531), new economic measures were introduced which imposed a tax of one-third of all cloves to be delivered to the royal monopoly.<sup>34</sup> All cloves had to be sold first to the king of Portugal through his factor at a fixed price until the royal ship had all it could carry. The rest of the supply was then sold to the following officials for their own benefit in order of precedence: the Portuguese Captain, the royal factor, officials, and soldiers. Only when their needs were met could the remainder be sold to merchants. The Malukans quickly learned that the Portuguese were making substantial profits from the resale of cloves, and so they began to demand higher prices.<sup>35</sup>

Unconvinced that all cloves had been delivered to the royal factor for the Portuguese Crown, Pereira ordered that the homes of the *casados* (those who had married local or other Asian women) be searched for cloves. Pereira forced the Ternatens to sell their spices to the Portuguese at the low price set by the Crown.<sup>36</sup> Tidore, too, was subject to these Portuguese measures, having been forced to sign an agreement to deliver a certain

34. Hubert Jacobs, ed. and trans., *A Treatise on the Moluccas ... of Ant3nio Galv3o* (Rome, 1970), p. 221.

35. Fern3o Lopes de Castanheda, *Hist3ria do descobrimento e conquista da 3ndia pelos Portugueses*, vol. 2 (Porto, 1979), pp. 601–603.

36. *Da 3sia de Jo3o de Barros e de Diogo de Couto*, nova edi3o (Lisboa 1778) [limited edition reprint], Couto, vol. 11, pp. 216–217.

quantity of cloves annually to the Portuguese.<sup>37</sup> Pereira's enforcement of Crown policy bred resentment among the local inhabitants and led eventually to war with the Malukans.

When Captain Antonio Galv3o (1536–1539) arrived in Ternate, the war had driven the price of cloves up from the two cruzados set by the Portuguese royal factor to as high as fifty to sixty cruzados. Once Galv3o had succeeded in defeating a combined Malukan force at Tidore, he attempted to restore the economic situation by decreeing that all cloves be delivered to him. The whole area was then searched and all cloves found were confiscated on behalf of the king of Portugal. Afraid of losing an important source of revenue through trade with individual Portuguese, Sultan Hairun of Ternate (r. 1535–1570) intervened by claiming that the cloves belonged to him and should remain untouched. Galv3o's policy suffered a further setback when the Portuguese Governor of India, Nuno da Cunha, again allowed Portuguese to buy cloves, as long as one-third of those bought and sold in India were resold to the Crown for three cruzados a bahar.<sup>38</sup> Despite this new directive, Galv3o refused to comply, citing as a reason that the clove trade had "cost so many thousands of cruzados and the death of so many people."<sup>39</sup> His decision to enforce a now defunct policy made him many enemies in the Portuguese community.

After Galv3o's tenure of office, subsequent Portuguese Captains were much less committed to the Crown trade, and there was greater commerce between the Malukans and the Portuguese officials, soldiers, and *casados*. During the clove harvest which began at the end of August and continued until November, both Portuguese and Ternatens would visit the forests of Ternate and neighboring islands for cloves. Such cooperation continued until the murder of Sultan Hairun in 1570 disrupted relations between the Portuguese and the Malukans, leading eventually to the surrender of the Portuguese fortress to Sultan Babullah (r. 1570–1583) in 1575 and the removal of all Portuguese presence on the island. But the Portuguese continued to pursue the clove trade from Tidore and were able to maintain the supply to Europe. The European market for Malukan spices in the 1490s was about 250,000 ponds, but by about 1620s the market was about 1.4 to 1.5 million ponds. For the greater part of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese accounted for about 75 percent or more of the spices brought to

37. S3, *Documenta3o*, vol. 3, pp. 196–197.

38. Jo3o de Barros, *Da 3sia*, vol. 7, p. 239; Couto, *Da 3sia*, vol. 11, p. 155.

39. Jacobs, *Treatise*, pp. 319–321.

Europe. The eviction of the Portuguese from Ternate in 1575 had little impact on the spice trade, and the 1570s and the 1580s marked a resurgence in the trade after a decade of declining sales.<sup>40</sup>

With the withdrawal of the Portuguese from Ternate, many foreign groups which had been forbidden by the Portuguese to trade there returned and contributed to the resurgence of Ternate as an entrepôt. A Spanish document dated 1584 reports the vitality of Ternate, where ordinarily some 1000 Javanese, Sangleys (Chinese from the Philippines), and Acehnese came to trade. The Sangleys had earlier been an important presence in Ternate, and had returned to resume their profitable economic links now that the Portuguese had been removed.<sup>41</sup> In response to increasing demand from foreign traders, the Ternatens were once again resuming their voyages to "East Seram" (a term which was used to refer to the eastern tip of Seram, plus the Seram Laut and Goram archipelagoes) to sell their cloves. Among the products which they purchased from Javanese, Malay, and Turkish traders were arms and ammunitions as a safeguard against the return of the Portuguese.<sup>42</sup>

The Dutch pursued a similar policy to the Portuguese in attempting to monopolize the sale of cloves from Ternate. But, like the Portuguese, they began to realize the futility of enforcing a monopoly without local cooperation. In 1652-1653, the Dutch decided that too many spices were reaching Europe and depressing the sale price, and so the Company introduced a policy restricting the growing of nutmeg trees to Banda and of clove trees to Ambon. All other areas, including the home of the clove in northern Maluku, were to destroy all spice trees and prevent their growth in the future. This *extirpatie* or "eradication" policy was to be supervised by the Dutch and implemented by the local inhabitants. In compensation for the loss of revenue to the rulers and the bobatos, they would be provided with an annual subsidy. The original clove islands in northern Maluku were ordered to begin the mammoth undertaking of destroying both wild and

40. C. H. H. Wake, "The Changing Patterns of Europe's Pepper and Spice Imports, ca. 1400-1700," *Journal of European Economic History* 8, no. 2 (Fall 1979), pp. 393-395.

41. Francisco Colín and Pablo Pastells, *Labor Evangélica. Ministérios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 3, new ed. (Barcelona, 1900-1902), p. 41.

42. Colín-Pastells, *Labor*, vol. 3, pp. 41-42; Commelin, *Voortgangh*, vol. 3, *First Voyage*, Neck, p. 39.

domesticated clove trees. Such drastic measures only encouraged the producers and traders to seek alternative means of obtaining cloves and led to the rise of new secondary trading centers in Maluku.

## SLAVES

In addition to cloves, one of the largest and most lucrative items of exchange was slaves. The slave trade in the east was an old one, consisting mainly of those seized in raids on enemy villages being made to labor in the victor's own village, with some being sold to foreign traders. Much of the raiding was related to feuds, enmities, and religious demands, and it was never regarded as a purely economic endeavor. But the scale of slaving activities increased dramatically in the seventeenth century to satisfy Dutch and Spanish demands for labor in their cities and towns, and in the plantations which the Dutch had established in Banda, Ambon, West Java, and the Cape Colony. The demand for slaves from the east became stronger with the decision of the VOC in 1689 to forbid the use of slaves from Butung, the Malay areas, Makassar, Bali, and Java because of their record of violence against their masters.<sup>43</sup> The Dutch were particularly desperate for slaves for Banda since the native inhabitants had been forcefully deported, and slaves from Malabar and the Papuan islands were found to be vulnerable to various types of illnesses. While the Dutch themselves sought to fill their needs by licensing their freeburgers and Mardykens (freed Christian Asian slaves, usually of Indian origin) for this trade, the latter groups were dependent upon the existing local networks which came to supply them the necessary slaves.

The principal traders of slaves in the eastern islands were the Seram Laut islanders. Like Makassar, Seram Laut benefited from an act of kindness in 1624 when they sent boats to Banda to help the population escape extermination from the Dutch.<sup>44</sup> The Bandanese experience and contacts in the trading world were a crucial factor in transforming Seram Laut into another important commercial center in the east in the seventeenth century. These islands were regularly visited by Makassarese, Malay, Javanese, and Bantamese traders. In 1632, an Ambonese reported seeing at one of the Seram Laut islands some twenty-eight boats, of which eight were Malay, six Makassarese, and the rest from Bantam, Japara, and Bukit. In

43. W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven*, vol. 5 (1686-1697) ('s-Gravenhage, 1975), Camphuys, 30 Dec. 1689, p. 300.

44. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

addition to slaves, Seram Laut was a redistributing point for spices and massoi (the bark of a certain tree used for medicinal purposes) which were brought by the Seram Laut islanders from the coasts of New Guinea. Spices were brought to Seram Laut because the prices offered by these traders were far higher than those offered by the Dutch. Various villages in Seram Laut had special trade arrangements with villages in New Guinea, which assured a safe and profitable trade.<sup>45</sup> These arrangements arose because certain groups from the Seram Laut islands were the first to land in a particular coast and came to consider it their particular preserve.<sup>46</sup> In a typical year, Kiliwaru would send about ten kora-koras to Uring and Hotei to obtain slaves and massoi, which were then sold to foreign traders in East Seram. The traders of East Seram themselves cruised the Raja Ampat islands and east coast Halmahera seeking slaves, ambergris, birds of paradise, and spices.<sup>47</sup>

Income from slaving was derived not only from the sale of the slaves themselves, but from the practice of ransoming well-born individuals for considerable sums. In one case Patani and Gebe raided Hatile on Seram and brought them to Rarakit in East Seram where the relatives came to ransom them.<sup>48</sup> The Raja Tobunku once exchanged 100 of his subjects to retrieve his sister who had been seized in a raid.<sup>49</sup> This was a practice noted by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, and it continued to be a profitable exercise in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the latter period, however, Dutch attempts to control the trade by issuing permits for slaving

45. Elmberg distinguishes between a "trade friend," which requires a ceremonial exchange containing a ritual element for both and precludes intermarriage; and a "trade agent," which involves no ritual element and allows intermarriage between the partners. John-Erik Elmberg, *Balance and Circulation: Aspects of Tradition and Change among the Mejprat of Irian Barat* (Stockholm, 1968), p. 128.

46. F. C. Kamma, "De verhouding tussen Tidore en de Papoeë eilanden in legende en historie," *Indonesië* 1, no. 1 (July 1947), part 2, p. 551.

47. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 2, pp. 109, 244.

48. VOC 1483, Report to Rumphius by the Orang Kaya Sargile of Hatilen concerning the Papuan pirates, 18 July 1689, n.p.

49. VOC 1461, Letter from Kaicili Sibori Sultan Amsterdam to Batavia, included in missive of 30 June 1689, fol. 275v.

to specific groups forced the trade to be conducted in a more clandestine fashion in areas away from Dutch control.

One of the slave routes operated between Onin on the west coast of New Guinea and the island of Goram. Onin boats came regularly bringing slaves to Goram and selling them for 25–30 reals each in cloth, and for knives and swords from Tobunku. Although the Dutch wished to tap this supply of slaves, they were unable to get there without guides, interpreters, and the blessings of Goram leaders. On one occasion they succeeded in reaching Onin and were told that the traders from Goram had already taken all the slaves that were available.<sup>50</sup> The principal slaving area in Onin was Rumbatti, where annually 200–300 slaves could be obtained at the cost of ten Tobunku swords each.<sup>51</sup> The slaves were sold by warring coastal non-Muslim tribes to the chiefs and other important individuals along the Onin coast, who were Muslims mainly of Seram Laut or Tidore origin. It was these Muslim lords who conducted the slave trade with foreign merchants.<sup>52</sup> Those from the Seram Laut islands had entered into trade agreements with the Papuan tribes through the exchange of weapons, thus creating *sosolot*, or areas of special trade arrangements.<sup>53</sup> Goram, Kiliwaru, Geser, and Keffling were among the most active settlements involved in the intra-Asian trade. Another was Rarakit, which in the mid-seventeenth century was described by the Dutch as being a "pirates' nest which served the Papuans and Tidorese as a refuge and a marketplace."<sup>54</sup> Traders from Saparua also went regularly to Onin to obtain slaves, but it was the East Seram–New Guinea connection which had the major share of the market.<sup>55</sup>

Another slave network linked New Guinea, the four Raja Ampat kingdoms (Salawati, Waigeu, Waigama, and Misool), Gebe, the Gamrange

50. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, vol. 2 (1639–1655), Reniers, 24 Dec. 1652, p. 679; Maetsuycker, 7 Nov. 1654, p. 749.

51. *Ibid.*, vol. 3 (1655–1674), Maetsuycker, 26 Dec. 1662, p. 408.

52. A. Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoeë Eilanden*, vol. 1 (Batavia, 1884), pp. 80–81.

53. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 120–121, 191.

54. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 61.

55. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, vol. 4 (1675–1685), van Goens, 29 April 1681, p. 431; Tiele, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 2, p. 242.



(Maba, Patani, Weda), and Tidore. Long before the English discovered the importance of Gebe, it had been a useful intermediary port serving Tidore and the Papuan islanders. This is evident from an early tradition which names it as the oldest known lord of the Papuan islands. In the seventeenth century it was still viewed as an island with nothing to offer except a market for goods from New Guinea and the Papuan islands. Gebe's prominence as the lord of the Papuans was quickly overshadowed by Patani. As one of the Gamrange, Patani was traditionally regarded as the middle of the three mythical brothers who came to found these settlements. In folk traditions Maba is known for its bravery, Weda for its resourcefulness, and Patani for its (esoteric) knowledge (*ilmu*).<sup>56</sup> Patani's reputation as a possessor of special powers may have been a factor in its special place among the Gamrange and among the Papuan subjects of Tidore. In the seventeenth century, it was the Sengaji Patani who was given the task by the Sultan Tidore to visit the Papuan islands to gather tribute for Tidore. Whenever Papuans were needed for any expedition, it was the Sengaji Patani who summoned them first to Patani before they proceeded.<sup>57</sup> Raids to the coasts of Seram, Ambon, Aru-Kai islands, Tanimbar, Butung, Sulawesi, and other islands, were often a combined Papuan and Gamrange effort under the leadership of one of the Gamrange sengajis, usually from Patani.

Because of the special relationship of trust between the Gamrange and the Raja Ampat, the former often advanced credit to the latter for particular products.<sup>58</sup> This system worked admirably, making the Gamrange a principal source of Papuan goods, especially slaves. The Dutch were amazed at the many types of cloth which were found in the Gamrange, much of which was destined for the Papuan areas as an item of exchange.<sup>59</sup> Weda went regularly to the Raja Ampat islands offering cloth, iron implements, and trinkets for tortoiseshell and slaves. They then sold these products to the

56. Interviews conducted with local historians in the Gamrange in January, 1988.

57. VOC 1246, Ternate to Batavia, 6 August 1664, fol. 1773.

58. VOC 1690, Report on mission to Gebe, 25 Oct. 1703, fols. 207-208.

59. VOC 1675, Diary of Hofman in the Gamrange, under date 14 Aug. 1703, fol. 314; VOC 1690, Ternate to Batavia, 17 June 1704, fol. 40.

Tidorese traders based in Weda.<sup>60</sup> Patani was expected to provide coir mats, swords, and doormats as tribute, but in the early eighteenth century it was able to offer slaves, tortoiseshell, ambergris, cloth, birds of paradise, and gold because of its links to the Papuan areas. The Raja Ampat islanders obtained their products through links with the various coastal tribes of New Guinea. Annually, a large number of Papuan boats from the Raja Ampat went to the Gamrange bringing slaves, massoi, nutmeg, iron implements, and trinkets. These goods and slaves from the Papuan islanders were then sold by those in the Gamrange to the numerous Tidorese who went there to trade.<sup>61</sup>

A separate slave network operated within Ternate's territories. In north Sulawesi, the twin settlements of Gorontalo-Limboto regularly sold as slaves people seized from neighboring groups and from the Togia islands. These slaves were brought to two principal centers in Ternate's territories: Banggai and Tobunku. Bugis from Melaka came to Tobunku assured of a supply of slaves because they could rely on their local wives to arrange a profitable deal.<sup>62</sup> The Bugis based in South Sulawesi itself used the route northward up the west coast of Sulawesi to Pahu, overland to Parigi, and into the Tomini Bay to seize slaves and sell them either at Tobunku, Banggai, or the northern Sulawesi port of Tolitoli. The Dutch were convinced that Tolitoli was a prominent trading center because of the presence there of so much gold, silver, lacquerware from north Vietnam, porcelain from China, and other goods. The Dutch reasoned that such rich imported items could not have been purchased from the proceeds of Tolitoli's own products of tortoiseshell, sago, and *kulit lawang* (a type of cinnamon). It was suspected that the slave trade was one profitable source of revenue for Tolitoli.<sup>63</sup>

60. VOC 1662, Report on extirpation expedition to Weda, 10 Sept. 1702, fols. 517-518.

61. VOC 1662, Report on extirpation expedition to Weda, 10 Sept. 1702, fol. 539.

62. VOC 1376, *Memorie van Overgave*, R. Padtbrugge, 31 August 1682, fols. 320r-323r.

63. *Ibid.*, fol. 314r; VOC 1345, Report by Joannes Francen in Menado to Gov. Padtbrugge in Ternate, 24 Dec. 1678, fols. 456, 463-470; VOC 1336, Daily Register of Ft. Orange, under date 31 Jan. 1678, fols. 252-253.

A decision by the VOC to issue passes only to Dutch freeburgers and Mardykens to go east to obtain slaves caused a temporary inconvenience to local traders. By 1678, the Malukans complained that they could barely make ends meet since they were deprived of the right to traffic in slaves. They argued that they could earn more by selling one slave to a freeburger than by selling the produce of three years working in the fields.<sup>64</sup> However, as in the VOC restriction on the sale of spices, the indigenous traders soon found ways of bypassing Dutch-imposed regulations and of continuing to pursue a profitable exchange in slaves.

### CLOTH

The strong demand for cloves and slaves from competing European and archipelago groups enabled the Malukan rulers to obtain Indian cloth and iron implements, which were highly desired items in the region. Control over the redistribution of these valued objects provided the opportunity for both Ternate and Tidore to link many of the outlying communities closer to the center. In the early sixteenth century Tom Pires noted that Javanese and Malay traders stopped at Sumbawa and Bima to obtain local cloth for the markets in Maluku. Coarse cloth from Cambay and a finer variety from the Coromandel were equally valued.<sup>65</sup> The finer cloth was reserved for special occasions, while local barkcloth and the imported coarse cloth were for everyday use. Malukans made cloth from the bark of a tree by soaking it and then beating it with mallets on a piece of log. In this way the bark was stretched and made thin, long, or wide by joining the pieces together. Not all barkcloth, known locally as *lissas*, was coarse, and some fine cloth was also made from bark. For the top part of the body barkcloth was used like a poncho. It was made into a long rectangular cloth with an opening in the middle for the head and with the flaps falling in the front and back. For the lower half of the body the barkcloth was worn around the waist and between the legs. Cloth was also made from a cotton plant and from the bark of another shrub which was twisted to make thread for sewing and weaving. The fine cotton cloth was used primarily to decorate barkcloth.<sup>66</sup>

64. VOC 1345, Papers of Gov. Padtbrugge on his journey through Maluku from 1 Aug. 1678 to 8 March 1679, fol. 239.

65. Cortesão, *Suma Oriental*, vol. 1, pp. 203, 206, 216.

66. Gabriel Rebelo, "Informação sobre as Malucas," text 2 (1569), in Sá, *Documentação*, vol. 3, pp. 375-376; Jacobs, *Treatise*, pp. 51, 55, 77.

The gradual replacement of barkcloth by imported Indian and Bima cloth released the women from the never ending process of cloth-making and redirected their energies to other economic activities to enable them to obtain imported cloth.

There was a great market for cloth, and in one instance the ruler of Grisek purchased some expensive fabrics from West Asia for the sole purpose of reselling them in Maluku.<sup>67</sup> For many Malukans, the possession of cloth had other purposes than the purely functional one. If they received payment in cloth from the Dutch, they presented it first to the sultan "as an act of reverence." The Dutch described the process whereby the sultan retained one piece for himself in order to buy sirih-pinang (the ingredients for chewing betel), and returned the rest to the individual. What appeared to the Dutch to be a simple case of homage masked a more complex phenomenon. What the incident illustrated was a re-enactment of an old Austronesian idea of exchange involving fine-quality tapa cloth. The cloth was presented to the chief/ruler whose physical handling of the object imbued it with the spiritual powers associated with the leader. The spiritually potent cloth was then redistributed to the original donor and received as a sacred source of benefit and protection.

Much of the cloth was stored away to be brought out for funerals, for dowries, and as a special gift to individuals. At one point in the eighteenth century, the Sultan Tidore became distressed at a decision by the Dutch governor preventing Tidore folk from purchasing cloth in the Company's store. What the ruler feared was that, if any of the royal children died, there would be insufficient cloth for the burial and thus cause him great shame.<sup>68</sup> Although Indian cloth no longer had the direct link of the tapa barkcloth to the sacred tree from which it was made, the significance of the prestation remained. Bodies were now wrapped in imported cloth rather than in rolls of barkcloth.<sup>69</sup> Among the Papuan islanders the association of cloth with

67. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence* ('s-Gravenhage, 1962), p. 96.

68. New VOC 2313, Letter from the sultan Tidore to the Dutch in Ternate, received 12 July 1734, fol. 56.

69. The association of barkcloth with spiritual potency is also found in Pacific island societies. In Fiji, bodies were wrapped in mats and sheets of tapa cloth before being buried. After the ritual mourning period, bales of tapa cloth were distributed on behalf of the deceased to preserve their memory. This tapa cloth was associated with the gods since tapa

sacred powers was also clear. When boats returned from the *rak*, or head-hunting and raiding expeditions overseas, the final leg of the journey into the home port saw the principal leaders seated in the center of the boat on their chests of cloths. Prominent individuals in the village sat on their own chests of cloths when receiving the guests and their own people in a reception noted for the presence of great power (*nanek*), often equated with the concept of *mana*.<sup>70</sup>

As long as the center was benefiting from the spice trade, it was able to purchase cloth for its own use and for redistribution to the periphery. When the Dutch introduced the eradication policy in the mid-seventeenth century to control the production of spices, it eroded the major source of revenue in the Malukan courts. Dutch compensation was often paid in cloth, but the quantity was almost never sufficient to satisfy the demand in the court or to redistribute to the periphery. The threat to center-periphery relationships posed by the policy led to the encouragement of other means of selling spices outside the restrictive Dutch system. But while alternative trading arrangements could be developed in the periphery, they were much more difficult to introduce in the center, where the Dutch had permanent posts. The Dutch began to notice that, because the people of Tidore could no longer sell their cloves, they now sought casual labor with the Dutch or sold food supplies to the fortress and the Dutch settlement in order to be able to purchase cloth from the Company warehouse. Since cloth was in heavy demand for both practical use and for ritual purposes, the Malukuans were ready to defy the Dutch by engaging in the "illicit" trade in cloves in order to obtain cloth.

## IRON

In addition to cloth, the other greatly valued item which was traded for cloves and slaves was iron. Iron implements were strong, and greatly eased the task of clearing forests and cultivating the land, while iron-tipped

was made from a sacred tree. In Tahiti a priest serving as a medium for a god was wrapped in long rolls of tapa. These long rolls of tapa were also symbols of a status of chiefs, who were regarded as having divine links. See Simon Kooijman, *Tapa in Indonesia*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 234 (Honolulu, 1972), pp. 412, 414, 446.

70. F. C. Kamma, "The Incorporation of Foreign Culture Elements and Complexes by Ritual Enclosure among the Biak-Numforese," in *Symbolic Anthropology in the Netherlands*, eds. P. E. de Josselin de Jong and Erik Schwimmer ('s-Gravenhage, 1982), p. 75.

arrowheads and spears were far superior to those made from other materials. Tobunku and the Karimata islands were the two major sources of iron for Maluku. When the Dutch governor Padtbrugge visited Tobunku sometime between 1678 and 1679, he described it as having vast and easily accessible quantities of iron. The people did not bother to dig it up until traders arrived and paid for it in cloth. Only then did the local people get the iron from the mountains and smelt it into knives, swords, and axes.<sup>71</sup> People from Butung, with perhaps some Tobunku people, were among those who brought the much-valued iron implements from Tobunku to Keffing in East Seram and to surrounding areas.<sup>72</sup> Because of the great profits to be made in the iron trade, Tobunku was unwilling to tolerate any competitors. The Sultan Luwu in South Sulawesi expressed fear that Tobunku would attack Matano on his kingdom's northeastern frontier which was "rich with iron mines" and Luwu's principal source of revenue.<sup>73</sup> Luwu had earlier been a source of iron for Majapahit, since its iron had a particular mixture with nickel which was found to be ideal for the making of krises. In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries Tobunku was the chief source of iron for Ternate and the other eastern islands. As a vassal of Ternate, Tobunku became a major supplier of iron to its lord, enabling it to create and reaffirm a dominant relationship with its outlying territories.<sup>74</sup>

The other major source of iron in the archipelago was the Karimata islands. Many of the Karimata iron implements were brought to Palembang and then found their way to the east with Malay and Bugis traders who exchanged them for spices and slaves. On one occasion the Dutch lamented the fact that the failure to obtain Karimata axes and knives (*parang*) had damaged their sandalwood trade in Timor. They also remarked on the fact that Karimata axes and parangs, which were made at Belitung and the Karimata islands, were especially desired by "the islands behind Banda,"

71. VOC 1345, Papers of Padtbrugge on his journey through Maluku, 1 Aug. 1678 to 8 March 1679, fols. 285-286.

72. VOC 1516, Report of Dutch mission to Tidore, 3 June 1692, fols. 453v-454r.

73. VOC 1535, Ternate to Batavia, 25 June 1693, fols. 307v-308r.

74. In Ternate, Tobunku weapons were so widely used that in the late seventeenth century François Valentijn commented on a Ternaten war dance being performed using Tobunku swords. François Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1724-1726), p. 95.

meaning the Papuan islands.<sup>75</sup> At Onin, the Papuans were willing to trade each slave for twenty rijksdaalders worth of Tobunku swords and Karimata axes.<sup>76</sup> All the Papuan areas in the islands or the coasts of mainland New Guinea eagerly sought iron for weapons and work implements, and without iron it was difficult for foreign traders to obtain slaves.

So valuable were iron implements that the bearer of iron goods was regarded as possessing special powers. Even in the twentieth century in the Sawiet and Mejprat areas of New Guinea, there is a special term meaning "the axeman," referring to the coastal agent or intermediary who supplied adzes and axes to the interior mountain people. The gift of iron was such a powerful gesture that these axemen were said to retain the right to the life of the client during the existence of the axe. This spiritual potency associated with iron and objects made from it is reflected in another New Guinea group, the Von, where the term for "axeman" also refers to a "medicine man" administering the secret knowledge of a foreign coastal group. The foreign origin of these axemen is suggested by Mejprat myths which tell of their marrying Mejprat women, settling down, and bringing a superior civilization to the "hairy, ignorant or dumb savages" of the interior.<sup>77</sup>

The association of iron with the dominant centers of Ternate and Tidore is explicit in Malukan traditions. The Galela of northeast Halmahera attribute the introduction of iron to Ternate, and link that memorable event to the beginning of their special relationship. The bringer of iron was regarded as the superior partner, providing an item of high practical and prestigious value to the Galela.<sup>78</sup> Tidore, but more particularly the settlement of Toloa, was said to be the source of iron-forging skills. A blacksmith was believed to possess special powers which enabled him to harness the sacred properties of the ore to produce the miracle-working objects. Tidore was therefore seen as the homeland of powerful forces which were transmitted through the forged iron implements. For the Papuan subjects, Tidore's mastery of the wonder-working iron simply reinforced

their other traditions which linked Tidore with the mythical power associated with the source of the flood in the Underworld.<sup>79</sup>

In the Papuan areas, which received the sacred skills of forging indirectly from Tidore, the word "fire" was used to indicate concepts of sacredness and danger. The sanctity of iron was evident in its name, *romawa forja*, which means "child of the fire," and the smith through association was treated with great respect. His art was seen as a blend of technical, magical, and ritual elements.<sup>80</sup> The spread of iron-forging from Tidore appears to have been part of the expansion of Tidore into southeast Halmahera, Seram, the Papuan islands, and the coasts of the Birdshead in New Guinea. In these areas blacksmithing skills were attributed to Tidore via areas such as Patani and Gebe. It is significant that blacksmiths in Biak, Dore, and Numfor were forbidden to eat pork.<sup>81</sup> This suggests that iron may have been introduced at the same time as Islam and other aspects of "Tidore culture," which accompanied the expansion of Tidore to the periphery. The people would have seen the direct correlation between the sacred properties of iron and the spiritual powers of the center, confirming both Ternate's and Tidore's special position in Maluku.

#### LOCAL READJUSTMENTS TO VOC RESTRICTIONS

In the initial stages of the introduction of the eradication policy and the measures to limit slaving to Dutch freeburgers and Mardijkers, the indigenous trade networks suffered some inconvenience and a temporary loss of revenue. But in response to these unwelcome and arbitrary VOC restrictions, the Ternate and Tidore rulers encouraged clandestine trade at other ports beyond the purview of the Dutch, such as at East Seram for Tidore, and at Tobunku for Ternate. In some of Ternate's territories, colonies established by its prominent families in the early sixteenth century became a reliable source of the desired trade goods. These colonies at Buru, Hoamoal, Hitu, and Sula Besi organized the flow of goods to Ternate. In

75. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, vol. 4 (1675-1685), Maetsuycker, 24 Nov. 1677, p. 191.

76. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw*, vol. 3, p. 57.

77. Elmborg, *Balance*, p. 134.

78. N. Ishige, "Limau Village and Its Setting," in *The Galela of Halmahera: A Preliminary Survey*, ed. N. Ishige (Osaka, 1980), p. 7.

79. F. C. Kamma, *Koreri, Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area* ('s-Gravenhage, 1972), p. 95.

80. F. C. Kamma and Simon Kooijman, *Romawa Forja, Child of the Fire: Iron Working and the Role of Iron in West New Guinea (West Irian)* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 25, 40.

81. VOC 1662, Report on extirpation expedition to Weda, 10 Sept. 1702, fol. 539.

Tidore's periphery, the Gamrange and the Papuan islanders brought spices, slaves, ambergris, and tortoiseshell to the ports of Goram, Kiliwaru, Geser, Keffing, and Rarakit in East Seram. They were exchanged for gunpowder, lead, iron implements, patolas, and other types of cloths and goods brought mainly by Bugis, Malay, Javanese, and Butung traders. If traders from the western part of the archipelago did not appear, those from East Seram brought the goods to Timor and Larantuka. At times the East Seram traders went directly to Gebe, which had become an active redistribution center in the eighteenth century, to buy nutmeg and mace with cloth, gold chains, and slaves.<sup>82</sup>

The exchange mechanism in Tidore's territories was delicate and reliant on specific arrangements. The Gamrange's special relationship with the Raja Ampat was dependent upon the Raja Ampat's direct links with the various coastal settlements on the New Guinea mainland. In addition, there were the various communities in East Seram which had their own personal trade arrangements with communities in New Guinea. Inter marriages created a mixed intermediary group which became prominent in the interisland trade. Early Dutch traders discovered trade agents of mixed blood being referred to as "Papuan," who received advanced payment of knives, cloth, palm sugar, and rice to obtain massoi, nutmegs, and slaves from interior tribes. These "Papuan" had high standing in the community because of their access to desired foreign objects, particularly cloth, iron implements, and later foreign titles, which were awarded by the Sultan Tidore on the presentation of tributary goods. In 1734 the sultan presented to the Kapita Laut of Waigama perquisites of office in the form of buttons for a pair of trousers, twenty-six silver buttons, and a rattan baton with a silver knob. Traders in Maba in the eighteenth century had the Muslim/Tidore title of *hukum*, as well as the Portuguese military ranks of *cabo* and *marinyu*. In a later period such Tidore titles as *kolano*, *jojau*, and *sengaji*, or the Portuguese titles *mayor* and *kapitan* were also found among these groups.<sup>83</sup>

Because of the proximity of the Dutch outpost on Ternate, both Ternate and Tidore found it increasingly difficult in the eighteenth century to evade

82. VOC 1662, Ternate to Batavia, 15 Sept. 1702, fols. 359-360; VOC 1675, Secret Missive Ternate to Batavia, 20 Sept. 1703, fol. 174; VOC 1690, Report by van der Laan on mission to Gebe, 25 Oct. 1703, fols. 208-211; VOC 1690, Ternate to Batavia, 17 June 1704, fol. 40.

83. New VOC 2313, Letter from Sultan Tidore, 12 July 1734, fol. 54; New VOC 2313, Letter from Sowohi Tidore, 2 Sept. 1734, fol. 309; Elmberg, *Balance*, pp. 127-128.

the imposed restrictions. Their inability to maintain a reliable supply of cloth and iron goods to their periphery led to the rise in importance of East Seram and Tobunku as the principal trade centers for Ternate's and Tidore's territories, respectively. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the Papuans were bringing their goods to Keffing where there was an assured and cheaper source of cloth and iron implements. In 1721, the Sultan Tidore requested from the Dutch an advance of his annual compensation to be given in Indian cloth so he could send it to the Papuan areas.<sup>84</sup> Such a request revealed the deteriorating economic ties between the center and the periphery, which was undermining the mythic ideal of the unity of the Maluku world.

A further disruptive factor in the relationship between Maluku's center and periphery was the Company's insistence that the outer territories be subjected to the eradication policy. The intrusion was resented, not only because it threatened the livelihood of those on the periphery, but also because the labor required of them on behalf of their overlord was not being reciprocated with gifts of cloth and iron as in the past. But without the gifts of cloth and iron (or their equivalent), in compensation for the labor in the eradication campaigns, the exchange as the central and crucial act establishing a binding relationship between center and periphery was incomplete, leading to misunderstanding and even rebellion.

As the eighteenth century wore on, the Company became even more insistent than before in maintaining "order" in Tidore's and Ternate's territories and thus lent ships, men, and arms to "assist" these rulers in suppressing belligerent subjects. The practical effect of Dutch assurances of support for the center was to alienate the periphery. The periphery came to ignore demands from the center and sought to maintain its own trade, especially in goods prohibited by the Dutch. Despite Dutch cruising around Halmahera and frequent admonitions with the rulers to restrain "smuggling activities" of their subjects, there was little that could be done to prevent this trade. The Company lacked the resources, and the Malukan rulers feared risking further rebellion. The eighteenth century therefore saw a decline in economic activity in the ports of Ternate and Tidore, but a major increase in the trade of territories on the periphery.

## CONCLUSION

In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the Malukan center and periphery had established an intricate series of trade networks

84. VOC 1799, Letter from Sultan Tidore, 16 Sept. 1721, fol. 95.

which involved traders from both within and outside Maluku. What had begun as a mythically defined family of communities trading with one another had evolved into a thriving intraregional trade with the rise of various important nodes. Both Ternate and Tidore continued to attract trade as a result of their ability to maintain control of the major supplies of cloves and slaves. With this trade came the ability to import cloth from India and the archipelago, iron implements from Karimata and Tobunku, and other prestige goods in demand in eastern Indonesia. But with the introduction of the Dutch eradication policy and other trade restrictions, both Ternate and Tidore had to readjust their relationships with the Dutch in order to assure a steady supply of goods desired by their peripheries. The new demands made on the peripheral areas far exceeded the benefits which they now received from the center. The imbalance produced resentment in the periphery, but also the impetus to seek new sources of cloth, iron, and other desired goods. This led to the creation of new extensive trade networks linked by secondary ports bypassing those of the Dutch and the former central ports of Ternate and Tidore.

## NUAULU BETEL CHEWING: ETHNOBOTANY, TECHNIQUE, AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

Ways in which the betel quid and its constituent parts feature in the lives of the Nuaulu of south central Seram are described. The first part of the paper reviews the three main ingredients (areca fruits, betel pepper, and lime), the techniques employed in chewing, and the physical effects of these on the experience of Nuaulu subjects. The second part attempts to analyze some of the meanings attached to betel in social practice: in connection with curing and ancestral contacts, in the way in which it structures interaction and ritual, and in its symbolization of sharing; and how these are related to whatever changes in somatic states take place.

<i>Hua puti matae</i>	Unripe white fruit
<i>Loi-loi en aie</i>	Beautiful flower
<i>Siu tasi osi</i>	The pouch is raised and given
<i>Momoi ia ne hua</i>	My grandparent chews the fruit
<i>Momoi ia ne hua</i>	My grandparent chews the fruit
<i>Hua kira kira</i>	Chew the fruit
<i>Siu siu tasi</i>	Lift, lift the pouch
<i>Ninai enie</i>	Ascend to Aihisuru
<i>Enie kaisunu</i>	Descend from Aihisuru
<i>Iama pori-porio</i>	To Niamonai

(A free translation from the original Kepata Ararirane)